

(Robinson)
May 29, 1987
6:30 p.m.

NSC
changes
6/1/87

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: BRANDENBURG GATE
~~WEST~~ BERLIN, GERMANY
FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1987

not he
present

→ President von Weizsacker,
Chancellor Kohl, Governing Mayor Diepgen, ladies and
gentlemen: Twenty-four years ago, President John F. Kennedy
visited Berlin, speaking to the people of this city and the world
at the City Hall. Since then, two other Presidents have come,
each in his turn, to Berlin. Today I myself make my second visit
to your city.

Some
mention
of
Berlin's
750th
anniversary?

We come to Berlin, we American Presidents, because it is our
duty to speak, in this place, of freedom. But I must confess, we
are drawn here by other things as well: By the feeling of
history in this city, more than 500 years older than our own
Nation. By the sense of energy in your streets. By the beauty
of the Grunewald and the Tiergarten. Most of all, by your
courage and friendship.

Perhaps the composer Paul Lincke understood something about
American Presidents. You see, like so many Presidents before me,
I come here today because wherever I go, whatever I do:

"Ich hab noch einen koffer in Berlin." ["I still have a
suitcase in Berlin" -- words from a much-loved song.]

Are we
sure of
this?

Our gathering today is being broadcast throughout Western
Europe and North America. I understand that it is being seen and
heard as well in the East -- that Berlin television can be seen
as far to the southeast as Leipzig, as far to the northeast as
Gdansk; that Berlin radio can be picked up as far due east as
MOSCOW.

OK.

To those listening throughout Eastern Europe, I extend my warmest greetings and the goodwill of the American people. To those listening in East Berlin, a special word. [Although I cannot be with you,] I address my remarks to you just as surely as to those standing here before me. For I join you as I join your fellow countrymen in the West in this firm ^{insistence:} ~~this unalterable~~ ✓

~~belief~~ Es gibt nur ein Berlin. [There is only one Berlin.]

Behind me stands a wall that ^{this city. To the west, there is another wall that divides} ~~divides~~ the entire continent of Europe. From the Baltic south it cuts across Germany in one continuous gash of concrete, barbed wire, guard towers, dog runs, and gun emplacements. Farther south, there may be no visible, no obvious wall. But there remain ^{a heavily guarded} ~~armed guards~~ and checkpoints all the same -- ^{which} ~~still a restriction on~~ the right to travel, ^{AND} ~~still an instrument to impose~~ upon ordinary men and women the will of a totalitarian state.

Yet it is here in Berlin where the wall emerges most clearly; here, cutting across your city, where the newsphoto and the television screen have imprinted this brutal division of a continent upon the mind of the world. Standing before the Brandenburg Gate, any man is a German, separated from his fellow men. Any man is a Berliner, forced to look upon a scar.

President von Weizsaecker has said: The German question is open as long as the Brandenburg Gate is closed. Today I say: As long as this gate is closed, as long as this scar of a wall is permitted to stand, it is not the German question alone that remains open, but the question of freedom for all mankind.

Not
"belief" but
insistence
Geography
is
wrong.

Yet I do not come here to lament. For I find in Berlin a message of hope -- even, in the shadow of this wall, a message of triumph.

In this season of spring in 1945, the people of Berlin emerged from their air-raid shelters to find devastation. Thousands of miles away, the people of the United States reached out to help. In announcing the Marshall Plan, Secretary of State George Marshall stated precisely 40 years ago this week: "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos."

In the Reichstag a few moments ago, I saw a display commemorating this 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. I was struck by the sign on a burnt-out, gutted structure that was being rebuilt. I understand that Berliners of my own generation can remember seeing signs like it dotted throughout the Western sectors of the city. The sign read simply: "The Marshall Plan at work. For the building of a Free World."

"[T]he building of a Free World" -- in the West, that building took place. ~~Japan rose from ruin to become an economic giant. Italy, France, Belgium~~ } Virtually every nation in Western Europe saw political and economic rebirth. ~~The European Community was founded.~~ }

In West Germany and here in Berlin, there took place an economic miracle, the "Wirtschaftswunder." Adenauer, Erhard, Reuter, and other leaders understood the practical importance of liberty -- that just as truth can flourish only when the journalist is given freedom of speech, so prosperity can come

Could trim.
(Still not a good idea to list only a few)

Not just leaders but individuals (per democracy theme)

SW

about only when the farmer and businessman enjoy economic freedom. The German leaders reduced tariffs, expanded free trade, lowered taxes. From 1950 to 1960 alone, the standard of living in West Germany and Berlin more than doubled.

Where four decades ago there was rubble, today in West Berlin there is the greatest industrial output of any city in Germany; busy office blocks; fine homes and apartments; proud avenues and the spreading [lawns of] parkland. Where a city's culture seemed to have been destroyed, today there are two great universities, orchestras and an opera, countless theaters and museums. Where there was want, today there is abundance [E- food, clothing, automobiles; the wonderful goods of the Ku'damm; even home computers].

From devastation -- from utter ruin -- you Berliners have in freedom rebuilt a city that once again ranks as one of the greatest on Earth. The Soviets may have had other plans. [But, my friends, there was one thing the Soviets didn't count on: Berliner schnauze. Ja, Berliner schnauze -- und Berliner herz. ["Berliner schnauze" is a well-known phrase meaning courage mixed with good humor, "chutzpah." "Und mit herz" means "and with heart."]]

(In the 1960's, Khrushchev predicted: "We will bury you." But in the West today, we see a free world that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure. Technological backwardness. Declining standards of health. Even want of the most basic kind -- too little food. The Soviet Union still

ok by new language
cut

cannot feed itself. East Germany has made strides, but at harvest time the news announcers still speak, to use the well-known phrase, of "the battle to bring in the crops."

After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great and inescapable conclusion: ~~Freedom leads to prosperity~~ Freedom replaces the ancient hatreds ^{among} ~~between~~ the nations with comity, ~~and~~ peace, and well-being.

Freiheit -- Freiheit ist der Sieger. [Freedom is the victor.]

Now the Soviets ^{in their own way,} ~~themselves~~ may at last be coming to understand the importance of freedom. We hear much from Moscow about a new policy of ^{reform and} openness, ~~to use the Russian term, "glasnost."~~ Some political prisoners have been released. ^{Some} ~~Certain~~ foreign news broadcasts are no longer being jammed. Some economic enterprises have been permitted to operate with greater ^{autonomy.} ~~freedom from state control~~ OK

Are these the beginnings of profound changes in the Soviet state? Or are they token gestures, intended ^{OK} ~~to~~ raise false hopes in the West, ^{real} ~~and~~ to strengthen the Soviet system without changing it? We welcome ^{real} change and ^{real} openness. For we believe freedom and security go together -- that the advance of human liberty can only strengthen the cause of world peace. There is one sign the Soviets can make that would be unmistakable, that would advance dramatically the cause of freedom and peace.

General Secretary Gorbachev, if you seek peace -- if you seek prosperity for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe -- if you seek liberalization: Come here, to this gate.

Don't lead with material prosperity.

Don't give them too much credit

This is not glasnost but perestroika

Should be "or."
(Two different things)

Herr Gorbachev, machen Sie dieses Tor auf. [Mr. Gorbachev, open this gate.]

Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.

And I pledge to you my country's efforts ^{From p. 7} to help overcome these burdens. ~~while we watch and wait~~ We in the West must resist Soviet

expansion. So we must maintain defenses of unassailable strength. Yet ~~it is our nature as free peoples to make manifest our goodwill~~ ^{we seek peace, and} So we must strive to reduce arms on both sides.

Beginning 10 years ago, the Soviets challenged the Western Alliance with a grave new threat: ~~the deployment of~~ ^{new and more deadly} hundreds of ~~the triple-warhead SS-20~~ nuclear missiles, capable of striking every capital in Europe. ^{SS-20}

The Western Alliance responded by committing itself to a counter-deployment unless the Soviets agreed to negotiate a better solution -- namely, the elimination of ~~these~~ ^{such} weapons on both sides. For many months, the Soviets refused to bargain in earnestness. As the Alliance in turn prepared to go forward with its counter-deployment, there were difficult days -- days of protests like those during my 1982 visit to this city -- and the Soviets actually walked away from the table.

But through it all, the Alliance held firm. And I invite those who protested then -- I invite those who protest today -- to mark this fact: Because we remained ~~strong~~ ^{firm}, the Soviets came back to the table. Because we remained strong, today we ~~are~~ ^{have} ~~engaged in talks that hold out~~ ^{within reach} the possibility, not merely of limiting the growth of arms, but of eliminating, for the first time, an entire class of nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth.

This transition para. is wrong. Should not legitimize idea that our goodwill is the missing ingredient or that it is tested by arms control

Soviet INF were there before. Need to clarify what was new (more deadly SS-20). Similarly, for policy reasons it is essential to limit the "elimination" point to INF, not other nukes

Can do better

Putting this here is missing the point: This covers both arms control + freedom issues

To p. 6

(Only if you have previously specified INF)

I understand the fear of war and the pain of division that afflict this continent. As I speak, NATO ministers are meeting in Iceland to review the progress of our proposals for the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear forces [that I mentioned] At the talks in Geneva, we have ^{also} proposed deep cuts in strategic forces. And the Western Allies have [likewise] made far-reaching proposals to reduce the danger of conventional war, and to place a total ban on chemical weapons.

While we pursue these arms reductions, I pledge to you that we will maintain the capacity to deter Soviet aggression at any level at which it might occur. And in cooperation with many of our Allies, the United States is pursuing a Strategic Defense Initiative -- research that ~~will~~ base deterrence not on the threat of offensive retaliation, but on defenses that truly defend; on systems, in short, that will protect ^{human} lives ~~not by~~ ^{instead of} targeting ~~populations but by shielding~~ them.

Essential for accuracy: Only if R&D proves it feasible OK

Wrong point: Denial of freedom is the real source of tension.

(Also, Berlin was not under siege in 1963 -- except in sense in which it's still under siege now)

By these means we seek to make Europe -- and the world -- safer. ~~Yes, our defenses are crucial -- but only the means to~~ But we must remember a crucial fact: East and West do not mistrust ~~something far greater: [the life of freedom.]~~ Perhaps when each other because we are armed; we are armed because we mistrust each other. President Kennedy spoke at the City Hall those 24 years ago, it was freedom that was encircled, Berlin that was under siege. No ~~longer~~ ^{freedom.} Despite all the pressures upon this city, Berlin stands as a shining example of that freedom. ~~secure in its liberty~~ And today freedom itself is transforming the globe.

In the Philippines; in South and Central America, democracy has been given a rebirth. Throughout the Pacific, free markets are working miracle after miracle of economic growth. In the industrialized nations, a technological revolution is taking

(already
stated on
p 5-6)

Sh. Yeliseyev

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 9

Let's not just talk about change, Mr. Gorbachev. Let's make it a reality right here in Berlin.

Twenty-six years after the building of the Wall, it's time for that Wall to come down.

Twelve years after the Helsinki accords, it's time to remove all the barriers to the free movement of people, information, and ideas across the continent of Europe.

Forty-two years after the end of the War, it's time to stop treating Germans -- or any other peoples of Central Europe -- like prisoners in their own land.

So, Mr. Gorbachev, let us address the real sources of tension in Europe. Arms reduction is important to all of us, but the weapons are the symptom of the security problem in Europe, not its cause. The real issue is the denial of peoples' right to choose their own government -- the artificial, unnecessary, unnatural, and inhuman division of Europe, imposed and maintained by the Soviet Union.

* * *

place -- a revolution marked by rapid, dramatic advances in computers and telecommunications.

[In Europe, only one nation and those it controls refuse to join the community of freedom. Yet in this age of redoubled economic growth, of information and innovation, the Soviet Union^{itself} faces a choice. It must make fundamental changes. Or it will become obsolete.]

Could drop

^{Thus,} ~~(In this respect)~~ today ^{is} ~~(represents)~~ a moment of hope. We in the West stand ready to cooperate with the East to promote true openness -- to break down the barriers that separate people, to create a safer, freer world. And surely there is no better place than Berlin, the meetingplace of East and West, to make a start.

Rodman

Free people of Berlin: Today, as in the past, the United States stands for the strict observance and full implementation of all parts of the Four-Power Agreement of 1971. ^{Let us use this} ~~Yet today we~~ ^{occasion, the 750th anniversary of this city, to usher in a new era --} ~~look forward as well to new achievements, new initiatives -- to~~ ^{to seek} ~~building~~ a still fuller, richer life for the Berlin of the future. Together, let us ^{maintain and} ~~strive to~~ develop the ties between the Federal Republic and the Western sectors of Berlin, ^{which is permitted by the 1971 Agreement. And I invite} ~~within~~ ^{Mr. Gorbachev:} ~~Berlin itself~~ ^{Eastern and Western} let us work to bring the ~~two~~ parts of the city closer together, ~~and yes, let us challenge the Soviets to join us --~~ so that all the inhabitants of all Berlin can enjoy the benefits that ^{should come} ~~go~~ with life in one of the great cities of the world.

INSERT III

With our French and British partners, the United States is prepared to sponsor international meetings in Berlin. It would be only fitting for Berlin to serve as the site of ^{United Nations meetings, or} ~~world~~

Need to call attention to fact he is about to announce a new initiative.

("maintain + develop" are key code words from 1971 accord)

("Not two parts but four")

This is part of our initiative (specific)

All okay. PML

conferences on human rights and arms control; ^{(or other issues that} ~~areas that~~ call for ^{international} ~~cooperation between East and West.~~ There is no better way to establish hope for the future than to enlighten young minds, and we would be honored to sponsor summer youth exchanges, cultural events, and other programs for young Berliners from the East. Our French and British friends, I am certain, will do the same. And it is my hope that an authority can be found in East Berlin to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors.

~~(To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West,~~
let us expand the vital air access to this city, finding ways of making commercial air service to Berlin through the established corridors safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We look to the day when West Berlin can become one of the chief aviation hubs in all Central Europe.

One final proposal -- one close to my heart. Sport represents a source of enjoyment and ennoblement, and you may have noted that the Republic of Korea -- South Korea -- has offered to permit certain events of the 1988 Olympics to take place in the North. International sports competitions of all kinds could take place in both parts of this city. And what ~~better way to show goodwill toward the East --~~ what better way to demonstrate to the world the openness of this city -- than to offer in some future year to hold the Olympic Games here in Berlin, East and West?

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today

Podman.

Why limit it
to human
rights + arms
control??
Or East-
West issues?

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to sponsor visits from young people of the Western sectors. INSERT
JIT

Centerpiece of
the initiative
is air
access,
not
sports.

And finally, to STET
To open Berlin still further to all Europe, East and West,
let us expand the vital air access to this city. let us find STET
finding ways of
making commercial air service to Berlin through the established
corridors more convenient, safer, more comfortable, and more economical. We look
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Put
first

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Berlin, East and West?

No!
Our goodwill
is not the
issue.

INSERT

In these four decades, as I have said, you Berliners have
rebuilt a great city. You have done so in spite of threats: The
Soviet attempts to impose the East-mark. The blockade. Today

SEE
INSERT

the city thrives in spite of the challenges implicit in the very presence of this wall.

de ← [What keeps you here?]

del ← [What persuades you to stay when you could so easily depart?]

Certainly there is a great deal to be said for your

fortitude, for your defiant courage. [But I believe that there is something deeper. Something that involves Berlin's whole look and feel and way of life. Not mere sentiment -- no one could live long in Berlin without being completely disabused of illusions. [Something instead that sees the difficulties of life in Berlin but chooses to accept them. That stubbornly refuses to abandon this good and proud city to a surrounding presence that is merely brutish.] Something that speaks with a powerful voice of affirmation -- that says yes to this city, yes to the future, yes to freedom. In a word, I would submit that what keeps you in Berlin is love -- love both profound and abiding.]

Perhaps this gets to the root of the matter, to the most fundamental distinction of all between East and West. The totalitarian world does not produce low living standards and backwardness because of some technical shortcoming in its economic arrangements. It produces backwardness because it does such violence to the spirit, thwarting the human impulse to create, to enjoy, to worship.

The totalitarian world finds even symbols of love an affront. During the War, the sculpture atop the Brandenburg Gate was taken down for safekeeping and stored here, in the Western sectors of the city. In 19__, the West turned the sculpture over

It's the
most
subsidized
city in
W. Eur!
And no
draft!

This is
all
rather
negative
in its
implication

Alternative ending attached: a more positive theme

June 1, 1987

Insert p. 10

This city through these past forty years has become unique. It has seen the French, the British, the Americans and the Germans working together as nowhere else. It has seen the image of a European and Atlantic community emerge that can be a vision for the West's future. This is an international city unlike any other place on earth, that demonstrates what determination and partnership can build.

Berliners have also helped shape a bridge between the West and their neighbors to the East. This bridge brings milk and meat and coal to West Berlin. It sends television pictures and tourists and modern know-how to the East. The bridge needs enlarging and expanding and what better place to carry this work out for the entire Western world than here in Berlin.

to the East in a gesture of goodwill, and soon the sculpture was once again looking out upon "Unter den Linden" [the main avenue in East Berlin]. But something was different. The cross -- the cross the figure had borne aloft for nearly 150 years -- that cross was gone. In its place was a Communist wreath.

__ years later, authorities in the East erected what is now the tallest structure in the city, the television tower above Alexanderplatz. I understand that virtually ever since, the authorities have been working to correct what they view as the tower's one major flaw, treating the glass dome at the top with paints and chemicals of every kind. Yet even today when the sun strikes that dome -- that dome that towers over all Berlin -- the light makes the sign of the cross.

As I looked out a moment ago from the Reichstag -- that embodiment of German unity -- I noticed words crudely spray-painted upon the wall -- perhaps by a young Berliner -- words that answer the German question. "This wall will fall. Beliefs become reality."

Yes, across Europe, this wall will fall. For it cannot withstand faith. It cannot withstand truth.

Die Mauer kann Freiheit nicht zuruckhalten. [The wall cannot withstand freedom.]

Thank you. God bless you all.

Are
you
sure?

Please
check

True?

not every sentence